HOLD HIGH THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
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A great revolutionary change is now taking place in the life of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

A furious anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist revolutionary storm is sweeping these continents.

The imperialist colonial system is hopelessly crumbling under the powerful impact of the national-liberation movement. Here, the cursed imperialism which has brought so much misfortunes and tribulations to hundreds of millions of people is gasping its last.

History has never witnessed before a revolutionary movement of such a magnitude and depth, embracing so vast an area and so many people.

The unprecedented upsurge in the national-liberation struggle is vigorously accelerating world revolution and hastening its victory.

Realities make it incumbent on all the Communists and the people to put up a resolute struggle against imperialism.

However, revisionism which has raised its head in the international communist movement is doing enormous harm to the development of the world revolution and throwing a great obstacle in the way of the national-liberation struggle at the present time.

Modern revisionists are hurling slanders and calumnies against the national-liberation movement and preaching capitulation to and compromise with imperialism through their numerous publications and speeches, at the meetings of international democratic organisations and all other opportunities.

The revisionists not only do not fight against imperialism themselves but hamper others from fighting it, and are prettifying imperialism in every way. Pinning hope on the "reason" of the imperialists, they rant that freedom and liberation of the peoples can be won through the realisation of peaceful co-existence, disarmament, etc.

The revisionists oppose the armed struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries on the ground that it might invite the horrors of world war, and they have gone the length of insulting the national-liberation movement, calling it "a movement for corpses."

They underestimate the revolutionary significance of the national-liberation movement, calling it a bourgeois movement, and allege that the oppressed peoples cannot accomplish revolution by themselves.

The revisionists do not support the fighting peoples but are working to undermine the unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples from within.

This situation bespeaks that a more determined struggle must be waged in order to resolutely reject the machinations of the modern revisionists and get rid of their influence thoroughly for the victory of the national-liberation movement.

We consider it a lofty duty of all the Communists to oppose imperialism and revisionism holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and to carry the national-libera-

tion revolution through to the end in firm unity with all the progressive forces.

1. Imperialist Colonial System Must Be Liquidated

Today the aspects of Asia, Africa and Latin America have radically changed.

Over fifty countries have already won independence in these areas since World War II.

The Korean, Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have made tremendous achievements in socialist construction and the Cuban people have embarked upon the road of socialism, the first in the Americas.

The peoples of a number of new-born independent countries are building a new life.

The formation and development of socialist states and national states in Asia, Africa and Latin America which were only objects of imperialists' aggression and plunder, are a great historical event.

Asia, Africa and Latin America of today are not the Asia, Africa and Latin America of yesterday. Gone are the days when the imperialists lorded it over these areas and trampled underfoot and plundered the people in an unbridled manner.

The great victory of the national-liberation struggles in colonies has dealt a telling blow to imperialism.

"The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system." (Statement

of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties) *[1]

But, the colonial system has not yet been completely liquidated. Colonialism is still continuing bloody suppression and brigandish acts in vast areas of the world.

Thus the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are faced with the task of completely liquidating the imperialist colonial system, while consolidating the successes already gained.

But some people allege that today the colonial system has already collapsed and only some of its survivals remain and that the tasks of the national-liberation revolution have been almost fulfilled. They allege that the oppressed nations have been freed from the colonial yoke and only about fifty million people now remain subjected to oppression and plunder by the imperialists.

Is that true? Realities emphatically disprove it.

Today hundreds of millions of people in the world are still left to suffer from the ruthless colonial oppression and plunder of the imperialists.

Now that the national-liberation struggle is in an upsurge, the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism find it ever more difficult today to rule the colonies in so open and direct a way as in the past. They are preserving the colonial system in many countries by the old method as well as cunning and camouflaged neo-colonial methods. No one can deny this fact, unless he deliberately shuts his eyes to the realities.

The imperialists today still keep many Asian, African and Latin American countries under their yoke in various ways.

The imperialists have installed their puppets in power in a number of countries and are executing their colonial

policy through them.

The British and French imperialists are keeping many countries, which have proclaimed independence, in bondage to the past metropolitan countries by shackling them to such setups as "commonwealth" and "community."

The imperialists are exercising political and military control over some countries by drawing them into such military blocs as the CENTO and SEATO and a host of bilateral military alliances.

The United States has set up 95 military bases, counting only the major ones, in 31 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and stationed 400,000 troops; Britain has stationed 70,000 troops at their military bases in over 10 countries; and France has dispatched 200,000 troops to countries in these regions.

These numerous military bases and stationary troops of the imperialists are used for the purpose of opposing the socialist countries and suppressing the national-liberation struggle.

The U.S.-led imperialists are wantonly interfering in the internal affairs of Asian, African and Latin American countries, using "aid" as a bait.

The "Alliance for Progress" of the U.S. imperialists intended for Latin America is nothing but a means for forcing their aggressive will on the countries in this area.

They use the "Peace Corps" and other devices as tools of their colonial infiltration.

Due to all these machinations of the imperialists, national sovereignty of many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America is grossly violated and, in fact, these countries have yet been unable to extricate themselves from the status of colonies and semi-colonies.

The U.S. imperialists are occupying by force of arms

South Korea, Taiwan, South Vietnam, Okinawa of Japan and many other areas and have completely turned them into their colonies.

All this shows that the colonial domination of the imperialists still exists in vast areas.

The imperialists are intensifying their policy of economic enslavement in small nations.

The capital of over 2,000 American monopoly concerns is invested in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America today, together with the state capital of the United States.

The investments of the imperialists in the countries of these areas have increased several times in the postwar period. The U.S. investments in the countries of these areas reached around 30 billion dollars as of the end of 1962.

With the export of a huge amount of capital and all sorts of colonial concessions, the imperialists have established exclusive positions in the main branches of the economy of countries in these areas.

In Latin America the U.S. imperialists have monopolised the production of almost all the iron ore, 90 per cent of copper ore, two-thirds of zinc ore and most of the oil output. They are holding privileges in agriculture and animal husbandry as well, and occupying a big portion of farm land.

In Africa, the monopolies of the United States, Britain, France, etc. have seized the major mining branches almost completely and monopolized over 90 per cent of the oil in the Middle and Near East.

Is all this anything but colonial subjugation and arbitrariness?

Free export of capital by the imperialists to small,

economically backward countries and economic control over them are the most important aspect of colonialism. This is closely linked with the political and military control of these countries by the imperialists.

Those who maintain that the colonial system has almost ceased to exist, ignore the fact that the economic domination of the imperialists is a graphic manifestation of colonial enslavement.

The rich resources of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are mercilessly plundered by the imperialist robbers, and the monopoly capitalists are constantly lining their pockets with the fruits of labour of the peoples of these countries.

The rate of profits the imperialists squeeze out of the countries under their domination is many times higher than in their own countries. In recent years, the profits made by the monopoly capitalists of the United States and Britain in their dependent countries reached 30 to 100 per cent of their investments, sometimes even higher, whereas the profit rate in their home countries stood at 10 to 12 per cent in the United States and 8 to 9 per cent in Britain. This is indeed a brigandish pillage.

The imperialists impose long hours of back-breaking labour upon the toiling masses of the countries in colonial and semi-colonial conditions, while paying only a fraction, sometimes a few tenths, of the wages paid in their home countries. Even such starvation wages are not paid regularly.

The gains the imperialists rake in from Asian, African and Latin American countries in the form of profits and interests, and the gains derived from the purchase of cheap raw materials and from the sale of their commodities at high prices add up to some 30 billion dollars every year.

This means that the monopoly capitalists squeeze 3.4 million dollars an hour and nearly 100 million dollars a day from countries in these regions.

This sum of money plundered by the imperialists in one year is enough to buy 500 million tons of flour, with which 2,000 million people could be fed for one whole year.

Every dollar, every pound and every franc squeezed out by the imperialists bears the mark of the sweat and blood of the people who perished in resentment from hard labour, poverty and hunger.

The U.S. imperialists are also savagely exploiting the peoples of small nations through "aid." They force the recipient nations to disburse 2-3 times more money than the "aid" for military spendings.

The U.S. imperialists pumped out of South Korea wealth amounting to some 10 billion dollars for its "economic aid" of 3.5 billion dollars. The staggering amount of military burden and harsh exploitation accompanying the American "aid" have reduced the South Korean economy to complete bankruptcy.

The total bankruptcy of the South Korean economy given special "support" by U.S. imperialism most strikingly reveals the predatory nature of the imperialist "aid."

All the rampage and brigandish plunder by the imperialists in various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America prove clearly that the colonial system has not been liquidated at all.

As a result of the savage, evil colonial rule of the imperialists, the peoples of many Asian, African and Latin American countries suffer continuously from misfortunes and tribulations.

Many countries with time-honoured culture, rich resources and industrious peoples remain most backward

economically owing to the colonial policy of imperialism. Today some 60 million people in Asia, 10 million in Africa and 5 million in Latin America are wandering about the streets with no jobs, nor means of living.

Two-thirds of the population in Latin America, bulk of the population in Africa and hundreds of millions of people in Asia are not free from chronic famine. Tens of millions of people of many countries in these parts of the world are dying of acute hunger, hard toil, and of diseases which are not so malignant.

The average life span of the peoples in colonial and dependent countries is 20-30 years shorter than that in the developed capitalist countries; in a number of countries it is even less than 30 years. Infant mortality in these countries is 3-4 times greater or even more than in other capitalist countries. The imperialists are virtually indulging in slaughtering people en masse in these countries.

The oppression and exploitation by the imperialists have brought extreme cultural backwardness to Asian, African and Latin American peoples. Even today, in the middle of the 20th century, 70 million people in Latin America and 80 per cent of the African people are totally illiterate.

The percentage of children attending school in the countries of these regions is only one-third or one-fourth of that in the developed capitalist countries.

All these misfortunes and sufferings of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples are entirely attributable to the crimes of the imperialists. Imperialism and colonialism are the sworn enemy of the oppressed nations.

How can we suffer these calamities imposed upon the

oppressed nations by the imperialists to continue any longer?

It is a most urgent demand of our age to liquidate the colonial system at the earliest date and wipe out the evil consequences of the colonial rule.

To do away with the colonial system even one year earlier means saving the lives of tens of millions of people; it also means freeing hundreds of millions of people from poverty and hunger and provide the opportunities for learning to tens of millions of children.

Those who allege that most of the peoples in colonies and dependent countries have already been emancipated are those who shut their eyes to the tribulations of the oppressed nations and are those who help the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism to cover up their unpardonable crimes.

The imperialists are camouflaging their colonial domination and predatory policy by every means possible and chanting as though the colonial system no longer exists on earth. In particular, U.S. imperialism is noisily propagandizing as if it has nothing to do with colonialism, as if it is striving for the "progress" of the peoples in the "underdeveloped countries."

It is only too clear that such propaganda of the imperialists is a crafty trick to hoodwink the Asian, African and Latin American peoples and divert them from the national-liberation struggle.

How can the people who call themselves Communists try to deceive the people by saying, in tune with the imperialist propaganda, that the colonial system no longer exists?

The Communists of the world must expose and condemn the rampage and plunder of the imperialists against

the oppressed nations and fight to relieve the people of their misfortunes and sufferings at the earliest date.

The anti-imperialist, national-liberation struggle can never be discontinued until colonialism of all forms is liquidated and the people enjoy complete national freedom.

The oppressed peoples must step up the national-liberation struggle and fulfil the historical task of completely liquidating the imperialist colonial system.

2. Imperialists Will Not Withdraw From the Colonial and Dependent Countries of Their Own Free Will

The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries should not expect any "benevolence" from the imperialists in their struggle for freedom and independence.

For imperialism the colonies are inexhaustible sources of exploitation and plunder.

Monopoly capital of imperialism is lining its pockets by bleeding white hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples throughout the world. The monopolies cannot maintain their existence without encroaching upon the territories of other countries and without exploitation and plunder. The imperialists use their colonies also as military, strategic bases and as a source of cannon fodder. Colonies constitute the "life line" of imperialism.

History knows no example as yet of imperialists having withdrawn from a colony on their own initiative. As realities show, not only the imperialists do not get

out of the colonies but are doing everything to seize and subjugate even one more inch of land. To attain their aggressive ends the imperialists do not hesitate to go to war.

By nature imperialism is reactionary and aggressive. The nature of imperialism will never change. The more it is driven into a tight corner, the more frantic it becomes. There is no capital which does not exploit the working people, and no imperialism is conceivable that does not engage in aggression.

Such being the case, Marxist-Leninists invariably believe that if the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are to achieve independence they should wage with determination a revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

Nevertheless, certain people today allege that owing to the change in the balance of forces in the international arena in favour of socialism, imperialism has discarded its aggressive nature and become "reasonable"; they laud to the skies the imperialist bosses for their "wisdom." They hold that the present age is an age of overall cooperation with imperialism and through this cooperation the problem of world revolution can be solved. According to them, the imperialists, obeying the dictates of their "reason," will also leave the colonies of their own free will. Therefore, they say, by holding amicable negotiations and making compromises with the imperialists, the oppressed nations can be rewarded by a "gift" of independence.

This is an illusion about imperialism and a deception of the people. Can the imperialists **"give up colonies, 'spheres of influence,' export of capital? To think that this is possible means sinking to the level of some mediocre parson who preaches to the rich every Sunday about the lofty princip-**

les of Christianity and advises them to give to the poor, well, if not several billions, at least several hundred rubles yearly." (Lenin)*[2]

Those who advocate cooperation with the imperialists put forward peaceful co-existence as a solution to the problem of world revolution.

They maintain that peaceful co-existence is the "only way" of revolution in the present age of nuclear weapons. Proceeding from this, they say that the primary task of the oppressed nations is not to fight for national independence and freedom but to work for the realization of peaceful co-existence.

Peaceful co-existence, however, concerns the question of relations between countries with different social systems. The socialist countries are fighting for peaceful co-existence.

But peaceful co-existence can never be applied to the relations between the imperialists and the colonial and dependent countries.

Even now the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are oppressed and exploited inhumanly by the imperialists who keep them in bondage. What kind of peaceful co-existence can there be between the oppressors and the oppressed?

If some people nevertheless insist upon peaceful co-existence with the imperialists, it is nothing but preaching that the oppressed nations should submissively remain in colonial bondage.

Of late, the revisionists talk as if they have never pleaded for peaceful co-existence between the oppressed nations and the imperialists. By no vindication, however, can they conceal their real intentions.

They are making every effort to prove that the complete triumph of the national-liberation revolution is possible only under the conditions of peaceful co-existence. They are clamouring that when peaceful co-existence is assured imperialism will be defeated in the economic competition between socialism and capitalism and, accordingly, national liberation will be achieved of itself. They are preaching that the national-liberation movement should be subordinated to peaceful co-existence. In the final analysis, they are preaching that the people should not make revolution.

They are so much given to advertising peaceful co-existence that they have gone the whole length of describing, shamelessly and without any qualms of conscience, the national independence and liberation of many colonial and dependent countries won by their peoples through fierce struggles after the Second World War as "fruits" of their policy of peaceful co-existence.

Peaceful co-existence between the socialist and the capitalist countries cannot bring independence to the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, and the triumph of the socialist countries in the economic competition with imperialism can never replace the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in bringing liberation to them.

It is a mean act of pirating others' merits and an insult to the heroic exploits of tens of thousands of revolutionary fighters and people who have fought imperialism at the cost of their blood, to allege that their national independence has been achieved as a result of peaceful co-existence.

There are also people who claim that general and complete disarmament is the surest way to the liberation of the oppressed nations.

They say that when general and complete disarmament is realized, the imperialists will be prevented from keeping military forces and arms, and so liberation will come of its own accord to the oppressed nations.

Therefore, they clamour, the colonial and oppressed nations have to lay down their arms for general and complete disarmament, instead of waging the liberation struggle.

If general and complete disarmament can be achieved, it will of course be a good thing. The socialist countries have consistently made every sincere effort for the realization of disarmament.

But no progress has so far been made in the negotiations on disarmament, although they have been conducted among great Powers for already 18 years since World War II, and this is due to the negative stand of the imperialists.

It is not the Communists but the imperialists that are opposed to disarmament. Can one ever think of "imperialism without arms?" Even now, the imperialists are busy expanding armament and brutally suppressing the national-liberation movement.

Under these circumstances, to advise the oppressed nations to wait until general and complete disarmament is achieved, is tantamount, after all, to dissuading them from waging the national-liberation struggle.

The revisionists are idolizing the United Nations before the fighting peoples.

Certain people allege that the independence of the oppressed nations can be achieved also through the U.N. They shout at the top of their voices: Who but the U.N. can tackle the job of liquidating the colonial system?

If the United Nations were faithful to its duties stipul-

ated in the Charter, it could work in the interests of the oppressed nations in a measure. Even so, a few decisions of the U.N. can not serve as a guarantee for the independence of the oppressed nations.

Moreover, the U.N. is misused today as an instrument of aggression by the U.S. imperialists. U.S. imperialism uses the U.N. as a tool for repressing the national-liberation movement in the colonial countries and interfering in the domestic affairs of small nations.

It was in the usurped name of the U.N. that the U.S. imperialists carried on a war of aggression in Korea and mercilessly slaughtered millions of Korean people. Under the signboard of the U.N. the U.S. imperialists occupy South Korea to this day, hampering the peaceful unification of Korea.

Under the signboard of the U.N. the U.S. imperialists trampled upon the sovereignty of the Congo, murdered its Prime Minister Lumumba, and have suppressed its patriotic forces.

Under the signboard of the U.N. the U.S. imperialists have sought to infringe upon the sovereignty of Cuba and stretch their claws of aggression across the border of Cuba.

How can the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries achieve their national liberation and liquidate colonialism through the U.N.?

The allegation that the colonial system can be liquidated through peaceful co-existence, general and complete disarmament, or the U.N. is, in the final analysis, aimed at disarming the people ideologically, at paralysing the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle, and at fettering the oppressed nations to the bonds of colonial slavery for ever.

The modern revisionists, prettifying and embellishing

imperialism as much as they can, are preaching capitulation and submission to it.

The revolutionary peoples can by no means follow that way.

History shows that all those who pinned their hopes on the "benevolence" of the imperialists in their national-liberation struggle met with bitter failure in the end. The oppressed nations can achieve liberation and triumph only when they rely on their own strength and rise in a determined struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Today the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national independence is inconceivable apart from the struggle against U.S. imperialism, the bulwark of colonialism in modern times.

U.S. imperialism is the ringleader of the world reaction and the mainstay of aggression and war. It is the biggest international exploiter, an international gendarme and a heinous enemy of the peoples.

Today the U.S. imperialists are trying to find a way out to escape their doom in the aggression against other peoples and intensification of international tensions.

The U.S. imperialists are incessantly perpetrating aggressive machinations and subversive activities against the socialist countries, and are seeking to subordinate newly-independent national states.

U.S. imperialism, in league with all the reactionary forces of the world, is making frantic efforts to repress and strangle all types of progressive movements.

U.S. imperialism is also the very ringleader that is hampering and suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries.

In fact, U.S. imperialism has turned many countries

into their colonies and semi-colonies, and thus become the largest colonial power.

The U.S. monopolies are bleeding the peoples of these countries white and robbing these countries of their resources as they please.

U.S. imperialism occupies the territories of other countries by force and is grossly violating their sovereignty. The U.S. imperialists are conducting aggressive wars everywhere against the peoples who have risen for freedom and independence and are killing people brutally. The people shed blood everywhere the U.S. imperialists set foot.

All this proves that to achieve the liberation and independence of the oppressed nations and accomplish the world revolution, the spearhead of the struggle should certainly be turned against U.S. imperialism.

With each passing day, U.S. imperialism finds itself getting deeper into a sad plight. The attempts of the U.S. imperialists to achieve world supremacy and impose the yoke of colonial slavery on the peoples are naturally provoking indignation and resistance from the peoples throughout the world.

All peoples fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism should unite firmly, and expand and step up their joint struggle against U.S. imperialism, driving it further into a tight corner. The crafty neo-colonialist tricks of the U.S. imperialists should be laid bare, repudiated and frustrated everywhere. The struggle against U.S. imperialism should be stepped up everywhere in the world and blows should be struck at it in front and in the rear, binding it hand and foot. In all places where the U.S. imperialists are entrenched, the people should fight for the dismantling of their military bases and for driving

out their troops, and no room should be left for the U.S. imperialist aggressors to set foot.

This is the way leading to the liberation of the oppressed peoples throughout the world.

3. Revolutionary Struggle Is the Only Road to National Liberation

It is the most pressing national task confronting the peoples of colonial and dependent countries to win freedom and independence from the yoke of imperialism.

The oppressed peoples must liquidate the system of colonial rule and win freedom and independence through their staunch struggle.

"The liberation of the colonial and dependent countries from imperialism cannot be achieved without a victorious revolution: you will not get independence gratis." (Stalin)*[3]

Today the general situation is very favourable to the national-liberation struggle. The question is how the Parties of the working class and the progressive, revolutionary elements lead the revolution, standing in the van of the struggle.

The correct leadership of the Party is a decisive guarantee for successfully carrying out the complex, difficult revolutionary tasks.

The Party of the working class must adhere to a revolutionary stand, draw up correct strategy and tactics and organise and mobilise the broad popular masses to the struggle along the right path.

The victory of revolution hinges, first of all, upon whether or not the Party succeeds in winning over the po-

pular masses. If the Party of the working class fails to win over and rally the revolutionary masses around it, it cannot wage the revolutionary struggle, nor can it guide the revolution.

The Party of the working class must closely rally all circles which oppose imperialism and colonialism.

Especially, the Party must direct its primary attention to enhancing the vanguard role of the working class, firmly ensuring their leadership and winning over the peasant masses, youth, students and intellectuals.

Along with the working class, the peasant masses are the main detachment of revolution in the national-liberation struggle.

As a result of the colonial rule of imperialism, the Asian, African and Latin American continents remain backward agrarian areas. The peasants accounting for the great majority of the population in these areas are poor peasants and hired hands who are leading a miserable life, having almost no land or depending on small, lean patches of land. Due to their class position they have a vital interest in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, national-liberation revolution and are highly revolutionary and staunch in their struggle.

The Party of the working class can successfully wage the revolutionary struggle when it correctly links the tasks of the national-liberation revolution with the interests of the peasant masses and enlists them in the struggle on an extensive scale.

This notwithstanding, the modern revisionists ignore the revolutionary role of the peasant masses in the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

They hold that the revolutionary advance of the peas-

ants in these areas is an undependable and insignificant petty bourgeois movement and that it is not of much revolutionary significance.

This is not an attitude of those who want to make revolution.

It is absolutely wrong to ignore outright the masses of peasantry without correctly analysing the specific conditions of colonial and dependent countries.

To ignore the role of the peasant masses in the national-liberation struggle is an anti-Marxist-Leninist attitude of negating the worker-peasant alliance and rejecting the hegemony of the working class.

The upsurge of the national-liberation struggle today convincingly shows what great strength the peasant masses who have risen up in the struggle have and how victory can be won in the revolution when the peasants are given correct guidance.

Therefore, it is a major task of the Parties of the working class in Asia, Africa and Latin America to revolutionise and organise the peasant masses and turn the countryside into a powerful base of revolution.

Besides the peasants, the Party of the working class must widely enlist the youth, students and intellectuals in the struggle.

Owing to their status of the oppressed, the youth, students and intellectuals of colonial and dependent countries have a high degree of national consciousness and strong anti-imperialist sentiments. The youth, students and intellectuals play an important part in inspiring national awakening and anti-imperialist sentiments and disseminating the Marxist-Leninist ideology among the peoples of colonial and dependent countries.

The Party of the working class must strengthen its

work among the youth, students and intellectuals, organise and constantly temper them and actively mobilise them to the revolutionary struggle.

The tasks of the anti-imperialist, national-liberation revolution can be successfully carried out when the working class and all other anti-imperialist forces are closely united and the imperialists and all other reactionary forces are isolated thoroughly.

Holding high the banner of revolution, the Party of the working class must stand in the van of the struggle and lead the popular masses.

The Marxist-Leninists consider that they must come out in a decisive struggle when the revolutionary situation is matured and seize power without wavering in a favourable situation.

Especially when the people themselves rise up in the struggle, the Communists must correctly organise the people's struggle, impart consciousness to it and lead it to victory. And when the situation demands, they must organise and unfold an armed struggle.

The Party is needed for the working class and revolution, as the vanguard detachment and headquarters of revolution to tackle this task. If the Party, contrary to this, tails after the masses and does not fight for revolution, it cannot play its role fully.

Today the revisionists are scheming in every way to prevent the Party of the working class from playing a guiding role in the national-liberation struggle. Influenced by them, some Parties have abandoned revolution and are staying away from the revolutionary struggle.

At a decisive juncture when the situation demands an armed struggle and the people come out in arms, the revisionists are preventing the Party and the Com-

munists of the given country from coming out in the struggle, advocating "peaceful" means only.

Even when a favourable situation has been created for the seizure of power, they hold that the revolutionary forces should refrain from coming out in the struggle for power, menacingly stating that this may entail the intervention of the imperialists.

Thus the line of "peaceful transition" imposed by the revisionists has done, and is doing, a great harm to the national-liberation struggle in a number of countries in recent years.

The infection of "peace" malady has caused confusion within the armed ranks which had been waging a revolutionary struggle with arms in their hands, and no small number of people have fallen back from the road of struggle. In some countries, the revolution had been left defenseless and met with a fiasco in face of sanguinary suppression by counter-revolution and the revolutionary forces sustained heavy losses.

If those who style themselves Communists do not take part in the struggle and harp on "peace" only, sitting behind with folded arms when the revolutionary masses are fighting with arms in their hands, shedding their blood, this can never be regarded as an attitude of those who want to make revolution.

If the oppressed nations give up the struggle, not fighting against the violence of imperialism and the reactionary forces, and do not seize power in fear of the offensive of counter-revolution, they will never be able to win liberation and independence.

The revisionists rendered it impossible for the oppressed peoples to win victory which could have been won, and led them to make sacrifices which could have been avoid-

ed, in their liberation struggle against imperialism.

If the Party of the working class does not come out in the struggle and lead the revolution, another class will replace it. In that case, the Communists will lose the revolutionary masses and will certainly be deserted by the masses.

The Party of the working class must be fully prepared for the struggle of all forms including armed struggle.

The liberation struggle can be victoriously waged only by organically combining violent struggle with non-violent struggle, making the most of all possibilities.

If the revolutionary forces do not prepare themselves for violent struggle, counting on non-violent means alone, as advocated by the revisionists, they will be unable to cope with the situation on their own initiative.

The colonial rule of the imperialists is based on violence without exception. In disregard of this, how can one force the oppressed peoples who oppose imperialism to wage the liberation struggle by peaceful means alone?

Whether to choose the form of violent struggle or non-violent struggle in the national-liberation struggle is a question to be decided by the Party of each country in accordance with its specific conditions. According to the resistance of the imperialists and subjective and objective conditions of the revolution, now the violent struggle may come to the fore and now the non-violent struggle.

It will differ according to each country and each area.

Needless to say, when the question can be settled peacefully, peaceful means ought to be employed. The Communists do not want to shed their blood for no reason.

"When the class struggle becomes fierce, it will go over to an armed struggle in many cases. To wage a war or not depends by no means on the revolutionary masses

but on the exploiting classes suppressing the masses. The revolutionary masses resist by force, because the ruling class suppresses them by force." (Kim Il Sung)*[4]

When the imperialists suppress the people by force, they cannot sit still and only make sacrifices. Reactionary violence must be countered with revolutionary violence. Without a revolutionary army opposed to the armed counter-revolution, the revolutionary forces cannot be preserved from suppression by the imperialists and the reactionary forces, and the struggle is doomed to failure.

The armed struggle is the most active form of struggle which can strengthen the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces, deal heavy blows to the enemy and makes it possible successfully to carry out the revolutionary tasks.

When the oppressed nations unite and rise up in the armed struggle, they will become an invincible force and emerge victorious in the fight against any imperialists.

The Cuban people who began their armed struggle with seven rifles overthrew the dictatorial regime, a puppet of U.S. imperialism, and won victory by their heroic resistance.

The Algerian people who launched the armed struggle with a few hundred hunting guns fought valiantly for seven odd years and won victory over the French imperialists who mobilised hundreds of thousands of troops and employed all kinds of modern weapons.

Today the South Vietnamese people are heroically fighting for freedom and independence against the armed aggression of U.S. imperialism and are winning one big victory after another, dealing crushing blows to the aggressors. The peoples of Venezuela, Angola and many other countries are waging fierce armed struggles. Though they are fighting under very difficult conditions, they will

surely win victory.

The Communists must actively support these heroic struggles of the peoples.

Some people, however, are actively opposing the armed struggles of the oppressed nations under various pretexts.

Holding that the armed struggle of the oppressed peoples for liberation may become a "spark" which will touch off a "world thermonuclear war," they slander it as a "suicidal act," "reckless act of exterminating mankind," and the like.

They are also raving: What is the use of independence, if a world thermonuclear war breaks out and destroys the whole mankind? What a queer argument this is!

The revisionists claim that today the very nature of war has completely changed with the emergence of nuclear weapons. They declare that there is no longer any distinction between just and unjust wars in the age of nuclear weapons. They clamour that all wars, therefore, are crimes of manslaughter and unjust wars.

This is a crude falsification of Marxism-Leninism.

It goes without saying that nuclear weapons possess a great destructive force. But this cannot change the nature of war. Nuclear weapons are only a means of war. And not all wars become thermonuclear wars.

Their assertion is tantamount to urging the fighting people to give up revolution and endure oppression and exploitation by the imperialists. Their idea boils down to saying that people may as well become the imperialists' slaves, abandoning sovereignty, freedom and honour, in order to survive on this globe.

This is nothing but a trick of theirs to blackmail and threaten the oppressed people allying themselves with

the imperialists, so as to divert them from the struggle.

Such threats, however, cannot frighten the people who have risen up in the struggle nor check their righteous struggle. It is a futile attempt.

In order to camouflage their true colours, the modern revisionists sometimes voice their support, though merely in words, for the armed struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples. But who will be fooled by this? The people are fully aware who support the revolution and who are opposed to it.

The oppressed peoples will deal blows to the imperialists and frustrate their aggressive schemes through an implacable anti-imperialist struggle for freedom and independence in unity with the revolutionary peoples of the whole world.

Today the national-liberation struggle demands the Parties of the working class to enhance their role as never before.

Only those Parties and fighters that adhere to the principles of revolutionary struggle can discharge the glorious mission of the vanguard detachment.

No matter how hard the imperialists and revisionists may try, they cannot bring the revolutionary struggle of the popular masses to a halt.

The ultimate victory of the national-liberation struggle and the complete liquidation of the colonial system are inevitable.

4. Peoples Who Have Won Independence Must Carry the Task of National Liberation Through to the End

The peoples of the national states, having won politi-

cal independence as a result of the national-liberation struggle, have entered a new stage in their historical development.

Winning of political independence, however, does not mean the completion of the national-liberation revolution. It marks only an initial step towards the ultimate victory of the national-liberation revolution.

Society demands continued progress and life presents new problems awaiting solution.

The working class Party must answer the questions of whether or not the revolution should be carried to the end, whether or not the fight against imperialism should be kept on, which course should be taken in developing the country.

Today the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists are diametrically opposed to each other over these questions, too.

The Marxist-Leninists deem it necessary that the national states which have won independence continue to offer resolute opposition to imperialism and carry the national democratic revolution to the end. This is the only path for the peoples of these countries to follow in order to end the centuries-old backwardness and poverty, the legacies of the colonial rule, and to build prosperous independent countries.

Nevertheless, the revisionists allege that the task of the national-liberation revolution will be fulfilled merely by winning political independence. They leave the task of fighting imperialism out of account. They allege that the working class Party should confine itself to economic construction in cooperation with the bourgeoisie and that there is no need of advancing the revolution.

This is a harmful argument throwing grave obstacles

in the way of the revolution of the peoples of the countries that have won independence, and even jeopardizing their independence.

After winning political independence, the popular masses demand democratic development of the country by doing away with the old fetters at an early date and radical improvement in their living conditions.

Gaining political independence in no way means that social progress and consolidation of independence will come of themselves without any struggle. They can be achieved only by thoroughly carrying out the tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution and transforming the society into a new one.

This represents a continuous process of the revolution.

For a thorough-going accomplishment of the national-liberation revolution, it is necessary above all to completely demolish the old imperialist colonial ruling machine and deprive the imperialists of their economic foothold. It is also needed to enforce land reform in the countryside and put an end to the feudal relations of production. It is imperative to build an independent national economy and develop national culture after having wiped out the consequences of the imperialist colonial rule. It is necessary to effect democratic reforms in all spheres of social life and ensure legitimate rights and interests to the working people.

In foreign relations, opposition must be offered to the constant pressure and the aggressive policies of the imperialists and an independent peace-loving policy followed.

All these revolutionary measures will inevitably arouse resistance on the part of the imperialists and their accomplices, the reactionary forces at home.

As the revolution advances, class antagonism between various sections of society gradually comes to the fore. Struggle takes varied forms in the new historical conditions.

Struggle between classes, a product of the objective course of social development, is inevitable. One can hardly advance the cause of social revolution even a step without fighting against imperialism and its accomplices, the reactionary forces. The working class Party must defend the national and class interests and, rallying the revolutionary forces, must resolutely fight to carry the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution to the end.

Many historical facts have shown what twists and turns the revolution has to go through when the laws of class struggle are ignored.

Vacillation of the national bourgeoisie gradually becomes more open as social revolution moves further ahead and class struggle becomes fiercer.

Because of the contradictions between the national bourgeoisie on the one hand and foreign imperialism and the feudal forces on the other, it is possible for the national bourgeoisie to join the working people in the struggle to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution.

On the other hand, it may feel uneasy about the growing political consciousness and revolutionary advance of the working masses and show the tendency to give up the revolution halfway and join hands with the reactionary forces. The working class Party, therefore, must give support to the progressive aspects of the national bourgeoisie and form alliance with it, while curbing

and combating its negative aspects.

In its relations with the national bourgeoisie, the working class Party must always hold to the principled stand of both uniting and fighting with it.

The working class Party wants to maintain alliance with the patriotic and progressive bourgeoisie and work hand in hand with it in its endeavours for building a new society.

The possibility of maintaining the unity of the working class and the national bourgeoisie in the united front depends above all on the attitude of the national bourgeoisie —whether it defends in all sincerity the interests of the whole nation or not. National interests are inconceivable apart from the interests of the workers and peasants who make up the absolute majority of the nation. The bourgeoisie must respect the interests of the working masses if it wants to be truly faithful to the national interests. It must, at the same time, fight against imperialism, feudal forces and reactionary forces of all hues. This will lead to a firm unity between the working class and the progressive bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, however, will be infringing upon the national interests and, accordingly, undermining its unity with people of all walks of life if it seeks to place its narrow class interests above the interests of the nation as a whole.

The working class Party must fight against such move on the part of the reactionary bourgeoisie that betrays the national interests. The Party will lose its independency, become divorced from the revolutionary masses and, in the long run, will spoil the revolution if it gives unqualified support to and blindly follows the bourgeoisie

which has turned reactionary.

The Dange group of the Communist Party of India has slid down to the shameful capitulationist stand in its attitude to the reactionary bourgeoisie. The Dange clique, having cast aside the revolutionary principles of a proletarian Party, has pledged itself to give the reactionary government "unconditional support."

It actively backs the aggressive foreign policy of the reactionary government, declaring that its policy is "in line with internationalism." It has thus degenerated into a social-chauvinist group engaged in slandering and disparaging the Marxist-Leninist Parties and socialist countries; it has torn the Communist Party asunder.

Some people calling themselves Communists support and praise the sordid actions of the Dange group. All this is a plain treachery to the working class and the labouring people of India.

Marxist-Leninists should draw a lesson from this, even though it may be a bitter one.

The working class Party should, in the course of the national democratic revolution, consolidate in every way the worker-peasant alliance and closely rally people of all strata around the united front.

Ultimate victory of the national-liberation revolution and revolutionary transformation of society depend, after all, on the might of the working class Party and the solidity of the worker-peasant alliance. The working class Party will be able to take the initiative in the revolution and bring it to a victorious completion, if it correctly organizes a united front of broad sections of people with the worker-peasant alliance as its basis and leads it steadfastly. Only under these conditions can

urgent social problems posed by life be satisfactorily solved.

Social progress does not mark time. Peoples who have won independence want to build a new society free from exploitation and oppression.

They know well from their own experience that capitalism brings nothing but poverty and hunger and deprives them of all rights. Socialism alone can bring prosperity and progress to the country and a happy life to the people.

Under any circumstances the working class Party must keep to a principled, independent stand and fulfil the people's desire for building a new society by actively uniting and mobilizing the strength of the masses.

To keep up a resolute struggle against the aggressive schemes of imperialism is as yet the most important task in the national states after they have won political independence.

Today certain people deny the necessity of fighting against imperialism in the national states.

Now that political independence is won, they preach, fundamental contradiction has disappeared between the national states and the imperialists. According to them, there remains only the "distinction between economically developed regions and backward ones" in the present era.

Accordingly, they declare, aggressive imperialism, which existed before, has now ceased to exist and, therefore, all things will go well when mutual "cooperation" is effected with the imperialists.

This, too, is a dangerous view which brings about confusion for the peoples of the national states.

For the independent peoples there will be no successful social reforms and revolution without the anti-imperial-

ist struggle. The imperialists have not quit their former colonies; they are constantly penetrating into them by new methods. They bring political pressure of every description to bear upon, and exercise economic control over, the peoples who have newly won independence, in their scheme to make the political independence of these countries a nominal one. The imperialists, when they fail to achieve their aggressive ends by peaceful means, launch an armed invasion without hesitation and carry on all sorts of subversive activities to overthrow the national states.

The anti-imperialist struggle neither becomes less intense nor comes to a halt in the national states after they have won political independence. It remains as sharp as ever and becomes more complicated in all spheres.

The revisionists, closing their eyes to this fact, describe the imperialists as a "friend" or "benefactor" of the liberated peoples.

The revisionists allege that the so-called "aid" of the imperialists can assist in the economic development of the national states. They have gone so far as to declare that the U.S. imperialists' "aid" can "help the peoples lagging centuries behind quickly to get on their own feet."

Further, they propagandize that the imperialists will use the money released from disarmament for economic development of the "underdeveloped countries." They clamour that this will enable these countries to attain in a historically brief span of time the level of the advanced industrial nations and will open a "new era" in the economic development of the "underdeveloped countries."

All this talk is a sheer nonsense.

This is graphic evidence of how far the modern revi-

sionists have departed from the Marxist-Leninist principles and the class stand.

Is there an example of any Asian, African and Latin American countries having achieved economic progress with the help of the so-called "aid" of the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism? No, there is not.

On the contrary, life shows that the more one becomes reliant on the imperialist "aid," the more one's political independence is jeopardized and the more one's economic situation deteriorates.

The so-called "aid" advertised by the imperialists is nothing but a noose of neo-colonialism designed to subordinate the national independent countries once again.

"Outwardly the imperialist countries advocate 'friendship' and 'solidarity' between themselves, but they carry on subversive activities against each other behind the scenes; they claim to stand for 'cooperation' and 'aid', but in reality, they utilize them as instruments to subordinate other countries politically and economically." (Kim Il Sung)*5

It is absurd to expect the imperialist robbers, who have fattened on the cruel exploitation and plunder of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, to show "charity" all of a sudden.

Experience has proved that those countries resolutely fighting against the imperialists have made big headway in consolidating national independence and in political and economic development. On the contrary, those countries whose ruling circles have allied themselves with the imperialists or have been reduced to the imperialists' stooges still remain virtually in the colonial or semi-colonial status.

The countries that have won political independence

must build their national economy on the principle of self-reliance.

Independent national economic construction is essential for consolidating national independence and establishing relations with other countries on an equal footing.

Peoples of the national states, who have inherited a backward economy on account of the imperialist colonial rule, meet with no small difficulties in building a new society. These difficulties can be overcome by following the path of self-reliance.

Reliance on the imperialist "aid" renders it impossible for a country to achieve a sound development of their economy on a self-supporting foundation. For a country to deliver itself from the economic subordination to imperialism and develop into a mighty, prosperous one in a historically brief span of time, it is necessary to mobilize domestic resources to the greatest possible extent relying on the strength of its own people. This alone will make it possible to make an effective use of foreign aid if it is given.

As for foreign aid, we believe that to supplement each other's needs and assist each other among the liberated peoples is important in accelerating the economic construction in the national states.

These countries are endowed with rich resources and favourable natural conditions.

They are at different levels of economic and technical development.

Mutual exchange of natural resources, economic and technical exchanges and mutual assistance between these countries will be of great help to each national state in its economic construction.

Particularly, those countries which were liberated

earlier or are comparatively advanced economically must give active help to the peoples who have embarked on the path of national independence later.

Close ties and mutual aid between the liberated peoples is an important factor in smashing fresh aggression and economic penetration of the imperialists, consolidating their countries' independence and achieving their national prosperity.

In building new society, peoples of the national states expect much from the socialist countries.

The socialist countries should approach the peoples of the national states open-heartedly and modestly and give sincere aid to them on the principles of respect for sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

The economic and technical aid rendered by the socialist countries to the national states today plays a big part in accelerating the economic development of these countries.

This aid is fundamentally different from the so-called "aid" of the imperialists, for it is given, above all, out of a sincere desire to help the recipient countries in consolidating their independence and achieving their prosperity.

No political strings should be attached to the aid of the socialist countries; it should be most effective from the economic and technical point of view.

Violation of these principles might lower the prestige of the socialist countries among the peoples of the national states and give them a wrong idea of the socialist system.

The socialist countries can in no way cast aside the class principle in giving aid to the national states.

This notwithstanding, certain people are giving aid to the reactionary circles of the countries allied with im-

perialism.

They are giving, without any qualms, even military aid to be used against a fraternal socialist country.

They boast of their emulation with the imperialists in this matter.

This is a shameful thing.

Under no circumstances should Marxist-Leninists act in collusion with the imperialists before the peoples of colonial and dependent countries and of the national states. If one makes no distinction between friends and foes, it may possibly bring about dangerous consequences. This sort of act should be criticized and stopped promptly.

The struggle of the peoples of the national states to uphold their countries' independent development against fresh imperialist aggression is mounting higher day by day.

Whatever machinations and schemes they may make, the imperialists and their stooges will not be able to arrest the advance of the peoples who have entered on the path of national independence.

In spite of all sorts of slanders and vilifications by the imperialists, the people will govern their countries splendidly and develop their economy and culture for themselves.

The liberated peoples will never again be subordinated to imperialism.

5. National Liberation Movement Is a Great Revolutionary Force of Our Epoch

The liberation movement of the oppressed nations against imperialism and colonialism is a link in the whole

chain of world proletarian revolution and its powerful ally.

The victory of the proletariat of the capitalist countries is impossible, unless it is in direct alliance with the national-liberation movement in colonies, and the final solution of the national problems of colonies is unthinkable apart from the progress of world proletarian revolution.

The significance and role of the national-liberation movement in the development of world revolution are tremendous, indeed.

Foreseeing the enormous revolutionary role to be played by the national-liberation struggle, Lenin once stated:

"Millions and hundreds of millions—actually the overwhelming majority of the world's population—are now coming out as an independent and active revolutionary factor. And it should be perfectly clear that in the coming decisive battles of world revolution, this movement of the majority of the world's population, originally aimed at national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will, perhaps, play a much more revolutionary role than we have been led to expect." *6

Lenin's prediction has come true today.

Two-thirds of world population is living in Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have enormous natural and economic potentials.

These continents with such great might are turning from a reserve of imperialism into a decisive force opposing imperialism.

The national-liberation revolution is seething, shaking the imperialist foothold to its foundation.

The imperialist colonial system is crumbling every-

where, and a new force is emerging on the international arena.

All facts show that a great revolution is now making a dynamic progress in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to bury imperialism.

The policies of aggression and war of imperialism are being dealt telling blows by the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and this is a source of great strength for the cause of world peace.

The national-liberation struggle is strengthening the position of the socialist camp in the international arena and creating extremely favourable conditions for the furtherance of world labour movement.

As Lenin pointed out, as a result of the unprecedented upsurge of the national-liberation struggle, there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world revolution will be. In this sense, it can be said that the final victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured.

The national-liberation movement, along with the socialist camp and the world working class movement, constitutes a great revolutionary force of our epoch for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

However, today some people in the ranks of the world communist movement underestimate the revolutionary significance of the national-liberation movement and describe it as a petty bourgeois or a bourgeois movement incapable of dealing a serious blow to imperialism.

How can they possibly take such a view?

Following the October Socialist Revolution, the national-liberation movement in many countries in the East has emerged from within the bounds of the old bourgeois

national movement and developed into a national-liberation movement led by the proletariat. With the emergence and growth of the working class, the Parties of the working class have been formed in these countries. These Parties have taken the leadership in the van of the national-liberation struggle and this movement has merged into the general current of the world communist movement.

In a number of countries the national-liberation revolution has developed into socialist revolution. How can one appraise this great current of revolution as a mere bourgeois movement or describe it as an impotent petty-bourgeois movement?

In countries where the working class has not yet come into being or is still weak, the national-liberation movement is led by other classes.

Even in such cases, however, Marxist-Leninists should not negate the revolutionary significance of the movement. Even when proletarian elements are not to be found or are small in this movement, one should support it positively, so long as it is a movement weakening imperialism.

No one who looks straight at realities can ever ignore the fact that the "life line" of imperialism is being cut off in Asia, Africa and Latin America at present.

The imperialists themselves are raising a cry of agony as their colonial system is disintegrating in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We think we should not take a formalistic approach toward the national-liberation movement, but should appraise its revolutionary significance, in the light of the actual effects of its blows at imperialism.

The revisionists allege that Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot become the theatre of powerful revolu-

tionary struggle at the present time, because capitalism has not developed enough and the industrial proletariat is scarce in these areas.

Such allegation is nothing new for the Communists. This is no more than a rehash of the outdated anti-revolutionary "theory" of the leaders of the Second International. It was the renegades of the Second International who claimed that revolution could not break out in countries where the productive forces were not highly developed.

The whole world knows that their "theory" has been shattered completely in practice in history.

One cannot judge mechanically by the level of development of capitalism and the size of the industrial proletariat alone, whether preconditions for revolution exist in a given country or not.

Nor is it the size of the industrial proletariat alone that determines the conversion of the national-liberation movement into socialist revolution.

Even if capitalism has attained a high level of development and the industrial proletariat assumes an overwhelming proportion of the population, the flames of revolution will not flare up when the working class Party, marred by revisionism, is unable to provide correct leadership. On the contrary, socialist revolution has been victorious in a number of Asian countries and Cuba in Latin America th ough the industrial proletariat in these countries is relatively small.

In the stage of imperialism one cannot tell whether or not a revolutionary situation has been created, by taking individual countries singly.

The question is at which link the contradictions are the most acute, where the weakest link of imperialism lies

and where the revolutionary forces are at the ready.

It is not accidental that today Asia, Africa and Latin America have turned into zones of revolutionary tempest. Sharp national and class contradictions that give rise to revolution have been concentrated here more than anywhere else.

Contradictions between the imperialists and the peoples of these countries and contradictions between the exploiting class and the working people of these countries are interwoven, and contradictions among imperialist powers and among the groups of monopoly capital are in conflict in these areas.

Contradictions between the socialist camp and imperialist camp also find expression there in various forms.

Underlying the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations are class contradictions. Contradictions between the capitalist class of imperialist powers and the working class and other toiling masses of colonial and dependent countries, above all, constitute the main content of the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations.

The working class and people in colonial and dependent countries are undergoing twofold and threefold exploitation and oppression, more rigorous than the exploitation and oppression in the developed capitalist countries. Peoples of these areas are subjected to barbarous national, racial and class oppression and exploitation by the imperialists.

Exploitation and plunder of foreign imperialists, coupled with the tyranny of the native ruling classes, have become even more unbearable.

All these add to the enormous sufferings of the peoples of these areas and inevitably drive them onto the road

of revolution.

Subjective forces capable of carrying out the revolution are ready in a number of countries in these areas.

There are the revolutionary working class, which grew up amid the most wanton suppression of the imperialists, and the revolutionary peasant masses; there are a number of seasoned and tempered Marxist-Leninist Parties.

In countless battles against class enemies the peoples and Parties of these areas have been reared into powerful revolutionary detachments.

It is thanks to all this that the storm of revolution is raging so powerfully over these regions to shatter imperialism.

What approach is to be taken towards the upsurge of national-liberation revolution today concerns, in the final analysis, the question of principle for all Communists —whether to make revolution or not. World revolution is impossible if one slights the national-liberation movement and does not believe in its strength.

That some people do not recognize the enormous revolutionary significance of the national-liberation struggle shows precisely that they are disinclined to make revolution.

These people arrogantly claim that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot accomplish the revolution on their own and that they can win the revolution only under the leadership of the European working class.

Those who put up such argument are distorting Lenin's thesis on proletarian hegemony in the revolution of a single country. They allege that it is quite natural for the European working class to lead the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent

countries and that no one can dare refute this.

Leadership of the working class to the peasant masses and other working people is undoubtedly an indispensable condition for the victory of revolution in a single country.

However, it is totally wrong to apply this thesis mechanically to the relations between the labour movement in Europe and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples in colonial and dependent countries. This is an adulteration of Marxism-Leninism.

As historical facts show, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been waging a revolutionary struggle for themselves and have already won great victories.

The main thing is for the international working class and national-liberation movements to support and assist each other and to strengthen their alliance. There is not, nor should there be, a relationship of one side leading the other or any relationship of one subordinating the other.

The view that Europe should lead Asia, Africa and Latin America is a product of the reactionary bourgeois idea of regarding the peoples of colonial and dependent countries as "inferior nations," which originates from geographical and racial prejudices. Marxist-Leninists should under no circumstances become captives to such a bourgeois idea.

True Marxist-Leninists should, first of all, set a revolutionary example on the common front against imperialism before claiming the "leading role" in world revolution.

If one looks down upon the struggle of other people, while not making revolution himself, that is nothing but an act of national chauvinism. Communists should value the fruits of struggle won by the people on the front of

anti-imperialist revolution, no matter how small they may be, and learn from them open-mindedly.

Geographical and racial prejudices are taboo among Communists. Communists are related to each other by the common goal—the fulfilment of world revolution—in whatever regions, in whatever country they may fight.

If revolution should break out in Europe today, it would bring immense joy to the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, it would be a great support to their struggle. Similarly, the victory of revolution in Asian, African and Latin American countries today constitutes a great encouragement to the working class of Europe. Therefore, no matter where and by whom victory is won, it is a common victory, a source of common joy of progressive mankind the world over. There is no ground whatever to be unhappy about the revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the situation is ripe and the masses are ready to fight.

Some often wield the "authority" and traditions of their Parties to force their anti-Marxist views of the national-liberation struggle upon others.

As for the traditions and authority of such Parties, all Communists have regard for them. They highly appraise the past revolutionary exploits of these Parties and draw on their experience.

Important as the past is, more important is how one fights today against imperialism and for world revolution. Showing off the traditions and past exploits cannot replace the revolutionary work. The authority of the revolutionary Parties is built up amidst the flames of struggle. Once the working class Party retreats from the revolutionary position, it forfeits respect.

Communists should make practical contributions to world revolution not by empty words or by boasting of their past exploits, but by fighting imperialism and supporting the fighting people.

The strengthening of the national liberation movement is the way to reinforce the revolutionary force of the world proletariat, the way to hasten the final ruin of imperialism and the way to facilitate victory for world revolution. Anyone who fights for world revolution in good faith should direct the greatest attention to the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have turned into zones of revolutionary tempest today, and should do everything in their power for the victory of this struggle.

6. The Working Class and the Oppressed Nations of the Whole World Must Unite

Today the entire revolutionary forces of the world should constantly expand and strengthen the common struggle against imperialism.

The socialist camp, the international labour movement and the national-liberation movement are powerful revolutionary forces on the common front against imperialism at the present time. These revolutionary forces should firmly unite with each other and cement their militant solidarity.

Unity is the most powerful weapon in the hands of the international working class and the oppressed nations. The strengthening of their unity redoubles their might. When they are united, the working class and the oppressed nations can destroy any fortress of imperialism.

It is the very unity of the socialist camp, the international working class and the oppressed nations that the imperialists fear more than anything else. In order to check the revolutionary movements which are growing in all countries of the world, they are manoeuvring to align all the reactionary forces and destroy the unity of the forces of revolution.

The working class and the oppressed nations of the whole world must unite and counter such manoeuvrings of the imperialists.

The socialist camp, the international labour movement and the national-liberation movement should resolutely wage revolutionary struggles against imperialism on their respective fronts. They should thus deal blows at the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism so as to prevent them from arbitrary actions.

Here the socialist camp, first of all, should play an important role.

The countries in the socialist camp should regard it as an internationalist duty emanating from the very nature of Marxism-Leninism and of the socialist countries to give active support and encouragement to the national-liberation struggle. The countries of the socialist camp as the base of world revolution should persistently oppose the predatory colonial policy of the imperialists and actively struggle to safeguard the rights of the oppressed nations on the international arena. They should also render active support, material and spiritual, to all forms of liberation struggles waged by the oppresed nations including armed struggle.

This strengthens the allied forces of the socialist camp and the international working class and accelerates their common victory over imperialism.

Due to the manoeuvrings of the revisionists, however, certain socialist countries have failed to perform this important mission today.

Certain people do not want revolution and are afraid of hurting the feelings of the imperialists. They, therefore, not only do not support the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations but also obstruct it. What is important for them is not their unity with the oppressed nations but their compromise with the ruling circles of imperialism, not the abolition of colonies but the "tranquil" preservation of the status quo.

These people even allege that to support the national-liberation struggles in colonies is to interfere in the internal affairs of colonial powers.

This is tantamount to throwing overboard the historical cause and internationalist duty of the working class.

However vociferously one may talk about internationalism, there can be no genuine internationalist action if one does not extend active support to the peoples fighting the imperialists at the cost of their blood.

A socialist country is by no means entitled to consider itself to have fulfilled its revolutionary duty even if it has won victory in the revolution earlier than others. The Marxist-Leninists cannot pretend ignorance of the fact that hundreds of millions of people are still groaning under the oppression of capital and fighting against it in many parts of the world.

Along with the socialist camp, the working class in the capitalist countries must support the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations by waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

Under imperialist domination, the position of the work-

ing class in the capitalist countries is the same as that of the oppressed peoples.

The imperialists, with a view to intensifying their plunder of colonial peoples, engage in all sorts of manoeuvrings to estrange the working class in metropolitan countries from the peoples in colonies. They attempt to contaminate the working class with the ideas of national chauvinism and racism, they attempt to bribe the upper crust of the working class with part of the super profits squeezed out of colonies and to disorganize its ranks.

The working class of the capitalist countries should thoroughly frustrate such sinister designs and intrigues on the part of the imperialist ruling circles and unfold resolute struggles against their policies of aggression and plunder in colonies and dependencies. Full support should be given to the right of the peoples in colonies and dependent countries to complete independence, and the class struggle should be waged more vigorously against the capitalist system.

This is the way for the working class in the capitalist countries to contribute to the development of the liberation struggles of the colonial nations, the way to step up their own class emancipation.

In no circumstances must the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries be servile to the ruling circles of their respective countries without organizing such struggle.

Unless direct and decisive support is given to the national-liberation movement in colonies through the revolutionary struggle, the revolutionary solidarity between the international working class and the oppressed nations remains entirely empty talk.

Engels pointed out that **"no nation can be free if it**

oppresses other nations." *[7]

This truth must not be forgotten.

If the working class of all countries including the socialist countries regards their support to the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations as a sort of "burden" or a sort of "charity," it is a grave mistake. It is not the right attitude for Communists to care only for boasting of their aid.

Aid is by no means unilateral.

The relationship between the international working class and the oppressed nations is always that of mutual support and mutual aid. The support given by the socialist countries and the working class of the capitalist countries expedites the victory of the oppressed nations in their liberation struggle.

On the other hand, the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations helps create by dealing blows at imperialism favourable conditions for socialist construction in the socialist countries and the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

"The victory of the working class... and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without the formation and the consolidation of a common revolutionary front." (Stalin) *[8]

The common front of the socialist camp, the international working class and the oppressed nations—this is a decisive condition for the ultimate triumph of the international labour movement and the national-liberation revolution against imperialism.

The activities of the international democratic organizations on the common anti-imperialist front are of great importance today.

The international democratic organizations embrace

hundreds of millions of the working people and progressive forces of the world. These organizations set it as their task to fight for peace and democracy, national independence and social progress.

So, it is one of the central tasks in their activities to oppose imperialism and colonialism and support the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations.

In this respect, these organizations did much work in the past, which was a great encouragement to the oppressed nations. It is hardly possible, indeed, to talk about a lasting peace and the happiness of peoples apart from the struggle for the complete emancipation of the oppressed nations.

But today certain people are trying to divert the activities of the international democratic organizations from their original mission. They are forcing the organizations to abandon their anti-imperialist struggle and are preventing them from giving support to the national-liberation struggle.

They demand that the international democratic organizations should keep entirely to the line of peaceful co-existence and disarmament, thus causing confusion and split in them. Modern revisionists would not allow people even to voice their denunciation of imperialism from the rostrums of meetings of these organizations. According to their view, the bourgeoisie will be frightened if voices are raised against imperialism.

Which is really important, to unite with hundreds of millions of peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America or to join hands with the upper strata of the bourgeoisie at the risk of losing that large, powerful allied force?

The answer is clear.

The modern revisionists value compromise and collu-

sion with the ruling circles of imperialism more than anything else.

They are machinating to turn the international democratic organizations struggling for safeguarding peace against imperialism into bourgeois pacifist organizations which prettify the U.S. and other imperialists, create illusions about them and paralize the fighting spirit of the people.

The international democratic organizations must never fall back from their original mission. They must fight determinedly against the splitting, capitulationist acts of the modern revisionists and render active support to the liberation struggle f the oppressed nations, holding aloft the banner of anti-imperialist struggle.

It is very important in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism to strengthen close cooperation and unity among the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The common position and the common objective of the peoples in these parts of the world demand firm unity in the interests of the common struggle against imperialism. Once they are closely united and intensify the struggle against imperialism, their common enemy, the Asian, African and Latin American peoples can drive imperialism into a tight corner and deal bigger blows at it.

It will, at the same time, enable them to attain national liberation, consolidate the independence already achieved and secure an independent development.

For a common victory, it is important today to strengthen ties and hold necessary meetings of the governments and trade organizations of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, and set up organizations for common struggle.

That will make it possible to exchange experience in

struggles, work out programmes of joint struggle, strengthen mutual support and cooperation and unfold vigorous struggles against imperialism.

Such activities are meant to ensure equal and free development for the Asian, African and Latin American peoples in international relations and protect the rights and demands of the oppressed nations.

This is the way to cement the unity with the international working class and reinforce the world peace movement.

Now, some persons also oppose vigorously the efforts of the peoples in these parts of the world to strengthen their unity and cooperation.

They are opposed to international meetings of representatives of various social strata in Asia, Africa and Latin America aimed at discussing measures together for anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggles. They slander and vilify such activities as "geographical" and "racist" "isolationist actions" "rather than an anti-imperialist struggle."

What a strange logic this is!

If they are Marxist-Leninists, they should not be prejudiced against the flames of revolution raging in all their fury in Asia, Africa and Latin America today, but ought to be rejoiced at and actively encourage them and step up world revolution.

If the united international activities of the peoples in these parts against imperialism and colonialism are not an anti-imperialist struggle, what are they?

As one of their methods of preserving their colonial privileges, the imperialists take advantage of racial and religious differences and other things still remaining in Asia, Africa and Latin America to cause strife deliberately

in these parts. They attempt to make Asians fight each other in Asia, Africans in Africa and Latin Americans in Latin America.

What is wrong with it for the peoples of these parts to find ways and means to counter jointly the sinister aggressive manoeuvrings of the imperialists through international meetings and coordinated joint organizations?

Those who oppose, on the absurd ground of being "racial" and "geographical," the activities of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their unity want to serve the policy of imperialism designed to estrange the peoples in these areas from each other and set them against each other. It could not be otherwise.

That historic Bandung Conference of Asian-African countries dealt a severe blow at imperialism and colonialism and contributed greatly to the cause of world peace. And the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization already organized plays a big role in intensifying the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle of the peoples in these parts of the world.

There can be no ground whatsoever to oppose the joint organizations aimed at the unity of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples.

In short, certain people stand opposed to the measures taken by the peoples in these areas for their unity because, in actual fact, they fear the spread of the flames of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial struggle and do not want the revolution at all.

We are convinced that the strengthening of the unity of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the strengthening of the unity of the socialist camp, the working class and the oppressed nations of the whole world are the essential guarantee for the victory in the

people's struggle of our times for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

The working class and the oppressed nations throughout the world will unite firmly to wage a decisive struggle against colonialism and national oppression of all shades.

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Today the revisionists are doing incalculable harm to the international communist movement and the national-liberation struggle. They are now pursuing the road of splitting and undermining the working class Parties of various countries.

Abusing the authority of their Party, certain people have forced revisionism upon Parties in other countries, thus driving these Parties into confusion and making them impotent.

As a result, some Parties have failed to guarantee correct leadership for the national-liberation struggle, and fail to play their role as revolutionary Parties of the working class.

The revisionists are interfering in the internal affairs of other Parties at will and place them completely under their thumb.

They have kicked up a row in a number of Parties, excluding and expelling staunch Marxist-Leninists from the Party ranks.

At present certain people are abusing the principle of democratic centralism to spread and justify revisionism.

On the instructions, and under the coercion, of these people, some Parties are checking the revolutionary activities of Marxist-Leninists, persecuting them on charges

of "sectarianism," "splittism," and all sorts of ideological charges, and even expelling them from the Party ranks unreasonably. By doing so the revisionists are in effect splitting the Parties of other countries.

The principle of democratic centralism is a revolutionary principle of organisation that consolidates the Party on Marxist-Leninist principles.

This is necessary for strengthening the Party ranks on Marxist-Leninist principles and enhancing the militant role of the Party. But, on the contrary, the principle of democratic centralism is abused by the revisionists to split the Party and persecute steadfast Communists. This must never be tolerated.

Those steadfast Marxist-Leninists unjustly expelled from certain Parties cannot but unite themselves, and form new Communist organisations in the interests of the revolution.

Their action is entirely justified.

Today the differences within the international communist movement have developed into the question of principle that affects Marxism-Leninism and the destiny of world revolution.

Should the question of the differences be obscured and left undecided, it would further foster revisionism and thereby inflict an irretrievable damage on the cause of world revolution. We consider that the solution of the question of the differences cannot be consigned to the "lapse of time," to spontaneity. The interests of the revolution do not permit the infiltration of any ideas that run counter to Marxism-Leninism into the ranks of the fighting people. No Communist can sit with folded arms even a moment when revisionism is spreading in the ranks of the international labour movement and the national-liberation

struggle. He must fight revisionism to the last and must clearly distinguish between right and wrong basing himself on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Revisionism must be eradicated thoroughly in the Party ranks and the Party must be built up in a revolutionary way on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Only then can the Party secure its leading role and make advance in the revolutionary struggle.

Revisionism is doomed to ruin. Through the resolute struggle against revisionism, the international communist movement will achieve a new, great unity based on Marxism-Leninism and emerge victorious.

Communists of all countries have before them the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, their guide to action, which were adopted unanimously. All Communists should, without exception, adhere strictly to Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties and safeguard firmly the unity and solidarity of the socialist camp, the international labour movement and the national-liberation movement.

Communists and working men of all lands, let us march on vigorously holding aloft the banner of all-conquering Marxism-Leninism!

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*1 *Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties*, Korean Workers' Party Publishing House, 1960, p. 37

*2 V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 21, p. 407

*3 J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 7, p. 191

*4 *On the Strengthening of Political Work in the People's Army*, p. 35

*5 *On the Immediate Tasks of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea*, p. 60

*6 V. I. Lenin, *Works*, Vol. 32, p. 629

*7 K. Marx and Engels, *Works*, 2nd Russ. ed., Vol. 18, p. 509

*8 J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 6, p. 200